

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EUR-12 EA-10 NEA-10 ISO-00
SIG-03 PCH-35 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-05 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 MMO-01 /176 R

DRAFTED BY IO/ML:MJACOBS:LW
APPROVED BY IO:CWMAYNES
IO:GBHELMAN
IO/ML:PWKRIEBEL
ARA/RPP:CFINAN
AF/I:LSHURTLEFF
ARA/CCA:WSMITH
EA/RA:LMCNUUTT (DRAFT)
EUR:DGOOTT (DRAFT)
ARA:AMB. VAKY
EUR/EE:DJOHNSON
NEA:SPERRY
NSC:RPASTOR
P:TMILLER

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P R 142212Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NASSAU
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BISSAU POUCH
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA POUCH
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA POUCH
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH
AMEMBASSY KIGALI POUCH
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE POUCH
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AMEMBASSY MBABANE POUCH
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH
USLO PEKING POUCH
AMEMBASSY TOKYO POUCH
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE POUCH
XMT AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY BISSAU
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
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AMEMBASSY MBABANE
AMEMBASSY MASERU
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178240

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: JULY 25-29 NON-ALIGNED
FON MINISTERS' MEETING AT BELGRADE: PART 1

REFS: A) STATE 29098 (NOTAL), B) STATE 97545 (NOTAL),
C) STATE 163024 (NOTAL), D) USUN 1571 (NOTAL)

1. INTRODUCTION. THIS IS THE FIRST OF TWO MESSAGES INTENDED TO HIGHLIGHT KEY ISSUES LIKELY TO ARISE AT THE JULY NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AT BELGRADE. IT FOCUSSES ON THE QUESTION OF CUBA'S ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM), AND REPORTED PLANS BY MODERATE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO SURFACE THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT CUBA'S AFRICAN INTERVENTION. THE SECOND MESSAGE FOCUSSES ON THOSE NAM AGENDA ITEMS
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IMPORTANT TO THE US: THE MIDDLE EAST, ZIONISM-RACISM, SOUTHERN AFRICA, MASS MEDIA, PUERTO RICO, AND KOREA. POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE NAM ON THESE ISSUES WILL HAVE IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE US IN ITS BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY AS THEY AFFECT THE CREDIBILITY OF THE NAM AND THE ATMOSPHERE OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS. UNLESS THEY THINK IT INADVISABLE, ACTION POSTS SHOULD SEEK AN EARLY OCCASION TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES WITH APPROPRIATE SENIOR HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS,

DRAWING ON THE TALKING POINTS PROVIDED HERE AND IN THE SECOND CABLE. THEY SHOULD REPORT THE RESULTS OF THESE REPRESENTATIONS, AS WELL AS HOST GOVERNMENT PREPARATIONS FOR AND REACTIONS TO THE BELGRADE MEETING, AS THEY BECOME KNOWN.

2. FOR BELGRADE, NEW DELHI AND HAVANA: YOU WILL RECEIVE SEPARATE INSTRUCTIONS. THESE MESSAGES ARE INTENDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION, ALTHOUGH YOU MAY DRAW ON THEM ALSO AS YOU DEEM APPROPRIATE.

3. FOR POSTS IN OAU CAPITALS: YOU MAY HAVE MADE RECENT REPRESENTATIONS ON SOME OF THESE ISSUES IN PREPARATION FOR THE KHARTOUM OAU SUMMIT, WHICH WILL BE IN PROGRESS DURING MOST OF THIS PRE-BELGRADE PERIOD. DEPARTMENT DOES NOT WISH TO WEAR OUT ITS WELCOME IN THIS SERIES OF REPRESENTATIONS BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT GOVERNMENTS KNOW OF OUR INTEREST IN THESE REGIONAL AND NON-ALIGNED MEETINGS. REQUEST OAU MEMBER POSTS, THEREFORE, WHILE RETAINING BROAD DISCRETION IN THE USE OF MATERIALS, TO TAKE THAT ACTION WHICH IS DEEMED MOST APPROPRIATE IN FURTHERING US INTERESTS AS STATED IN TALKING POINTS ON THE PARTICULAR ISSUES.
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4. BACKGROUND. THE BELGRADE MEETING OF NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS TAKES PLACE AT A TIME OF UNPRECEDENTED DIVISIVENESS IN THE NAM. SEVERAL ISSUES, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST AND WESTERN SAHARA, DIVIDE REGIONAL

GROUPS. ONE ISSUE, THAT OF CUBA'S AFRICAN INTERVENTION, IN ADDITION TO THE REGIONAL RIVALRIES INVOLVED, HAS BROAD IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION OF THE NAM AS A WHOLE, AND THE POTENTIAL FOR MORE MISCHIEF AT BELGRADE THAN ANY OTHER. THE OUTCOME IS FAR FROM CLEAR, ALTHOUGH THE YUGOSLAV HOSTS AND THE WEIGHT OF NAM TRADITION WILL BE ON THE SIDE OF UNITY, IF ONLY FOR APPEARANCE SAKE. WE WANT TO TAILOR OUR ACTIVITIES SO AS NOT TO GIVE CREDIBILITY TO A CHARGE THAT WE ARE INTERVENING IN NAM AFFAIRS, SINCE THAT WOULD GIVE THE CUBANS THE ISSUE THEY NEED TO RALLY THE NAM AROUND THEMSELVES. (CUBA IS ALREADY ARGUING THIS POINT IN ITS INTENSIVE PRE-BELGRADE DIPLOMATIC LOBBYING). WE INTEND TO CONTINUE OUR PRACTICE OF DISCUSSING WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS IN ADVANCE OF NAM MEETINGS THOSE ISSUES AND NAM POLICIES WHICH AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS ALIKE. SUCH COMMENT HAS BECOME A LEGITIMATE FACET OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

5. YUGOSLAV PREPARATIONS FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING. THE BELGRADE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE PREPARED BY THE YUGOSLAVS AS HOSTS OF THE MEETING, WHILE CONTAINING MANY FORMULATIONS WE CANNOT ACCEPT, IS AN UNUSUALLY MODERATE DOCUMENT FOR THE NAM. (OUR POSSESSION OF THE DRAFT SHOULD NOT BE MENTIONED TO HOST GOVERNMENTS AT THIS STAGE SINCE IT WAS GIVEN TO US IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE.) IT CONTAINS A REASONABLY BALANCED INTERPRETATION OF NON-ALIGNMENT, AND LITTLE DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE US. IT OFFERS THE COOPERATION OF THE NON-ALIGNED TO ALL NATIONS STRIVING FOR "COEXISTENCE" CONFIDENTIAL

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AND "DETENTE." AND IT BROKE NEW GROUND WITH A SECTION ENDORSING HUMAN RIGHTS. AS SUCH, IT REPRESENTS A CONTINUATION OF THE MODERATING TREND INITIATED AT THE 1976 COLOMBO NAM SUMMIT AND THE STARTING POINT FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' DEBATE. IT IS NOT A DOCUMENT WHOSE POSITIONS WE COULD SUPPORT OR ENDORSE, NOR WILL WE BE ASKED TO DO SO. AN ANALYSIS IS BEING SENT SEPTEL.

6. THE DRAFT ATTEMPTS TO DEAL WITH THE CUBAN PROBLEM INDIRECTLY BY EMPHASIZING THE OVERRIDING NEED FOR NON-ALIGNED UNITY AND CHASTISING UNNAMED COUNTRIES FOR FAILING TO "ADHERE CONSISTENTLY" TO THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-ALIGNMENT. PRESUMABLY, THE YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO IGNORE THE ISSUE OF CUBAN INTERVENTION ENTIRELY IN LIGHT OF EGYPTIAN, SOMALI AND ZAIRIAN PLANS TO SURFACE THEIR CONCERNS AT BELGRADE; THEY HAVE, THEREFORE, FORMULATED THIS COMPROMISE LANGUAGE DESIGNED TO SATISFY ALL PARTIES AND PRESERVE

NAM UNITY.

7. CUBAN ISSUE AT THE HAVANA NACB MEETING. LITTLE OR NOTHING WAS SAID AT HAVANA ABOUT THE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA OR CUBA'S SYSTEMIC LINKS WITH AND DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. THE LEADING MODERATES, ESPECIALLY INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, DELIBERATELY DISCOURAGED DIRECT CHALLENGES TO CUBA IN THE NAME OF NAM UNITY. THE MEMBERS OF THE NACB WHO WERE MOST LIKELY TO SEE THEMSELVES THREATENED BY CUBA'S INTERVENTIONIST POLICIES, E.G., ZAIRE, SUDAN, NIGER, LIBERIA AND CHAD, FOR WHATEVER REASONS, FAILED TO RAISE THE ISSUE. THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE CUBANS AND CONCERNED MODERATES WAS PLAYED OUT ENTIRELY ON AN IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL, WITH MUCH CONFIDENTIAL

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DEBATE OVER THE MEANING OF NON-ALIGNMENT. THE INDIANS AND YUGOSLAVS WERE SATISFIED THAT THEY PREVENTED ANY FURTHER NAM TILT TOWARD THE SOVIETS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THEY SUCCEEDED IN INCLUDING "HEGEMONISM" (A REFERENCE TO THE USSR) AS A CARDINAL SIN ALONGSIDE

"IMPERIALISM" IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE. WHATEVER SETBACKS THE CUBANS MAY HAVE SUFFERED AT THE MEETING, HOWEVER, THEIR FLEXIBLE TACTICS EARNED THEM CREDIBILITY AS A NON-ALIGNED PLAYER.

8. PROSPECTS AT BELGRADE. IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO PAPER OVER CONCERN ABOUT CUBAN ACTIVITIES AT BELGRADE WHERE THERE WILL BE A MORE OPEN MILIEU AND TWICE AS MANY MEMBERS (OVER 80), INCLUDING A LARGER NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL MODERATES, ATTENDING. OF THE ANTI-CUBAN INITIATIVES EXPECTED AT BELGRADE, AN EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL TO ADJOURN THE HAVANA NAM SUMMIT (SEPTEMBER 1979) SINE DIE PROBABLY HAS THE WIDEST POTENTIAL APPEAL. THERE ARE ALSO SOMALI AND ZAIRIAN PROPOSALS TO EXPEL CUBA FROM THE NAM. AFRICAN STATES ARE BEING CANVASSED AT THE KHARTOUM OAU SUMMIT AND IN MEETINGS IN NEW YORK, AND INDICATIONS ARE THAT A FAIR NUMBER OF THE MODERATES ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT ONE OR BOTH OF THESE PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, AFRICAN SUPPORTERS OF CUBA, SUCH AS TANZANIA, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, AND OTHERS SUCH AS NIGERIA, WILL ACTIVELY OPPOSE THE PROPOSALS. THE CUBANS ARE SENDING HIGH-LEVEL MISSIONS TO KEY NON-ALIGNED CAPITALS IN ORDER TO LINE UP SUPPORT AT BELGRADE. THEY ARE ALLEGING THAT THE US AND CHINA ARE COLLABORATING IN AN EFFORT TO PUNISH CUBA THROUGH THE NAM, A LINE THEY MAY TROT OUT AGAIN IF THE CUBANS SENSE THEIR POSITION NEEDS SHORING UP. SHOULD THE EGYPTIANS AND OTHERS PROCEED WITH THEIR INITIATIVES, THEN, THE PROSPECTS ARE FOR A BITTER FIGHT, WITH UNPREDICTABLE OUTCOME,

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AT BELGRADE.

9. WE EXPECT THE INDIANS AND YUGOSLAVS TO CONTINUE THEIR INDIRECT APPROACH TO LIMITING CUBAN INFLUENCE IN THE NAM, AND TO COUNSEL THE EGYPTIANS AND OTHERS TO ABANDON DIRECT APPROACHES THEY REGARD AS DANGEROUS TO THE NAM AND FUTILE. THEY WILL WORK BEHIND-THE-SCENES TO ENSURE THAT NO MAJOR DEPARTURES ARE MADE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THE NAM AND WILL PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE AGENDA AND OTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE HAVANA NAM SUMMIT. THE WIDER THE INPUT INTO THESE PREPARATIONS, THE LESS OPPORTUNITY THE CUBANS WILL HAVE TO DO THINGS THEIR OWN WAY AT THE SUMMIT. THE QUESTION OF THE ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS AND OBSERVERS TO THE NAM WILL ALSO BE OF INTEREST AS IF AFFECTS THE IDEOLOGICAL COLORATION OF THE MOVEMENT. LATIN AMERICAN APPLICATIONS WILL BE OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO US. FYI. THIS ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT LATIN

AMERICAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE NAM SHOULD NOT HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. END FYI.

10. TALKING POINTS (FOR ALL POSTS):

-- THE US POSITION TOWARD THE NAM AND THE THIRD WORLD IS CLEAR. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS AWARE THAT IN EARLIER YEARS THE US HELD VIEWS ON THE NAM WHICH RANGED FROM HOSTILE TO APATHETIC. THIS IS NO LONGER THE CASE. THE US RESPECTS AND APPROVES A GENUINE AND OBJECTIVE NON-ALIGNMENT, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL RESPECT, COOPERATION AND DETACHMENT AND BALANCE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. A NAM GUIDED BY THESE PRINCIPLES CAN MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND, THUS, BEST SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED.

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CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND, THUS, BEST SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED.

-- A SECOND IMPORTANT CHANGE IN OUR POLICY WHICH HAS DIRECT RELEVANCE TO OUR DISCUSSIONS TODAY IS THE PRESIDENT'S PROFOUND INTEREST IN HAVING HIS ADMINISTRATION CONSULT WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT AND WITH OTHER LEADERS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD ON A WIDE RANGE OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. IN THESE DISCUSSIONS, WE WILL PROVIDE INFORMATION AND OUR VIEWS ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD, AND WE WELCOME YOUR VIEWS.

-- GIVEN THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION THAT NON-ALIGNMENT

CAN MAKE TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WE ARE CONCERNED OVER WHAT APPEARS TO BE A SILENCE BY THE NAM TOWARD CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA, SUPPORTED BY AND CLOSELY LINKED WITH SOVIET OBJECTIVES, WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL MILITARY BASES AND GARRISONS OF FOREIGN TROOPS ON THAT CONTINENT.

-- WE DO NOT WISH TO CONFUSE MILITARY INTERVENTION WITH DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE. ALL NATIONS WITH EXPERTISE TO CONTRIBUTE CAN ASSIST AFRICAN STATES IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT. THE US IS NOT OPPOSED TO SUCH ASSISTANCE, WHATEVER THE SOURCE. BUT A LARGE FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN AFRICA IS A CAUSE FOR CONCERN IN PARTICULAR WHEN IT APPEARS TO BE OF INDEFINITE DURATION AND IS UNDERTAKEN IN COORDINATION WITH A SUPERPOWER.

-- THIS INCONSISTENCY BY THE NON-ALIGNED ABOUT CUBAN MILITARY ACTIVITIES COULD UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED CONCEPT AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NAM AS A FORCE FOR PEACE. SUCH INCONSISTENCY IS REGULARLY NOTED BY THE US PUBLIC AND CONGRESS.

-- ALLEGATIONS THAT WE ARE WORKING WITH CHINA OR
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ANY OTHER NATION TO TAKE THE NAM SUMMIT AWAY FROM CUBA OR EXPEL CUBA FROM THE MOVEMENT HAVE NO BASIS IN FACT. WE BELIEVE THESE ALLEGATIONS ARE AN ATTEMPT BY CUBA TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM THE QUESTIONS BEING RAISED BY OTHER NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ABOUT THE CONSISTENCY OF CUBA'S MILITARY ACTIVITIES WITH ITS NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS. CUBA'S ALLEGATIONS REPRESENT AN ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT THESE COUNTRIES RATHER THAN ANSWER THE QUESTIONS.

-- WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE NAM. BUT WE DO INTEND TO CONTINUE TO MAKE KNOWN OUR VIEWS ON ISSUES WHICH WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE NAM WHICH AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS ALIKE.

-- WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR VIEWS ON HOW THE CUBAN ISSUE WILL BE TREATED AT THE BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING.

FOR ALGIERS, BAGHDAD, CONAKRY, DAMASCUS, DAR ES SALAAM, GEORGETOWN, LAGOS, MAPUTO, TRIPOLI: ADD THE FOLLOWING AT AN APPROPRIATE PLACE:

-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT YOU MAY HAVE VIEWS ON THE CUBAN ISSUE WHICH DO NOT ACCORD WITH OUR OWN. NONETHELESS, WE BELIEVE A CANDID EXCHANGE OF VIEWS CAN HELP TO

IMPROVE UNDERSTANDING AND ELIMINATE MISCONCEPTIONS,
THUS (WHERE APPROPRIATE) CONTRIBUTING TO THE IMPROVEMENT
OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH IS IN THE INTERESTS
OF BOTH.

FOR KINGSTON: WHILE WE ASSUME BOTH FACT AND SUBSTANCE
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OF OUR DEMARCHES WILL GET BACK TO THE CUBANS THROUGH
SEVERAL OF THE GOVERNMENTS TO BE APPROACHED, WE ARE
ESPECIALLY RELUCTANT TO GIVE JAMAICANS A COMPELLING
REASON TO DISCUSS BELGRADE MEETING WITH CUBANS AT
THIS TIME. HENCE, YOU SHOULD NOT MAKE SPECIFIC
DEMARCHES ON NAM MEETING. AS YOU DEEM APPROPRIATE,
HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON TALKING POINTS IN DISCUSSING
THE VARIOUS ISSUES ON AD HOC BASIS WITH MEMBERS OF THE
GOJ.

FOR ABIDJAN, ACCRA, BANJUL, DAKAR, KINSHASA, KHARTOUM,
LIBREVILLE, LOME, MONROVIA, NDJAMENA, NIAMEY,
OUAGADOUGOU, YAOUNDE: ADD THE FOLLOWING AT THE END:

-- IN PARTICULAR, WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY
PLANS TO BRING THE ISSUE INTO THE OPEN AT BELGRADE,
AND OF THE PROSPECTS OF THOSE PLANS.

FOR NAIROBI: ALTHOUGH THE GOK PERCEIVES SOME
ADVANTAGES IN THE CUBAN PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA AND WOULD,
THUS, NOT WISH TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE CUBANS, WE
BELIEVE ITS GENERALLY MODERATE AND PRO-US STANCE WILL
MAKE IT RECEPTIVE TO AN EXPOSITION OF US VIEWS ON THE
CUBAN QUESTION. IF YOU CONCUR, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE
ABOVE TALKING POINTS, MAKING ADJUSTMENTS YOU DEEM
APPROPRIATE.

11. ALL REPORTING CONCERNING THE BELGRADE MEETING
SHOULD BE SENT INFO TO USUN AND BELGRADE.

CHRISTOPHER

NOTE BY OC/T: POUCHED ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARA-10 /025 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USINT HAVANA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178240

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED JULY 14, 1978
SENT NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE INFO ANKARA, ATHENS,
ASUNCION, ATHENS, GOGOTA, BONN, BRASILIA, BRIDGETOWN,
BRUSSELS, BUCHAREST, CANBERRA, CARACAS, COPENHAGEN,
GENEVA, GUATEMALA, THE HAGUE, ISLAMABAD, LA PAZ, LONDON,
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MASERU, PEKING, TOKYO, VIENTIANE IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178240

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YUGOSLAVS AS HOSTS OF THE MEETING, WHILE CONTAINING MANY FORMULATIONS WE CANNOT ACCEPT, IS AN UNUSUALLY MODERATE DOCUMENT FOR THE NAM. (OUR POSSESSION OF THE DRAFT SHOULD NOT BE MENTIONED TO HOST GOVERNMENTS AT THIS STAGE SINCE IT WAS GIVEN TO US IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE.) IT CONTAINS A REASONABLY BALANCED INTERPRETATION OF NON-ALIGNMENT, AND LITTLE DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE US. IT OFFERS THE COOPERATION OF THE NON-ALIGNED TO ALL NATIONS STRIVING FOR "COEXISTENCE" AND "DETENTE." AND IT BROKE NEW GROUND WITH A SECTION ENDORSING HUMAN RIGHTS. AS SUCH, IT REPRESENTS A CONTINUATION OF THE MODERATING TREND INITIATED AT THE 1976 COLOMBO NAM SUMMIT AND THE STARTING POINT FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' DEBATE. IT IS NOT A DOCUMENT WHOSE POSITIONS WE COULD SUPPORT OR ENDORSE, NOR WILL WE BE ASKED TO DO SO. AN ANALYSIS IS BEING SENT SEPTEL.

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7. CUBAN ISSUE AT THE HAVANA NACB MEETING. LITTLE OR NOTHING WAS SAID AT HAVANA ABOUT THE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA OR CUBA'S SYSTEMIC LINKS WITH AND CONFIDENTIAL

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DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. THE LEADING MODERATES, ESPECIALLY INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, DELIBERATELY DISCOURAGED DIRECT CHALLENGES TO CUBA IN THE NAME OF NAM UNITY. THE MEMBERS OF THE NACB WHO WERE MOST LIKELY TO SEE THEMSELVES THREATENED BY CUBA'S INTERVENTIONIST POLICIES, E.G., ZAIRE, SUDAN, NIGER, LIBERIA AND CHAD, FOR WHATEVER REASONS, FAILED TO RAISE THE ISSUE. THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE CUBANS AND CONCERNED MODERATES WAS PLAYED OUT ENTIRELY ON AN IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL, WITH MUCH DEBATE OVER THE MEANING OF NON-ALIGNMENT. THE INDIANS AND YUGOSLAVS WERE SATISFIED THAT THEY PREVENTED ANY FURTHER NAM TILT TOWARD THE SOVIETS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THEY SUCCEEDED IN INCLUDING "HEGEMONISM" (A REFERENCE TO THE USSR) AS A CARDINAL SIN ALONGSIDE

"IMPERIALISM" IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE. WHATEVER SETBACKS THE CUBANS MAY HAVE SUFFERED AT THE MEETING, HOWEVER, THEIR FLEXIBLE TACTICS EARNED THEM CREDIBILITY AS A NON-ALIGNED PLAYER.

8. PROSPECTS AT BELGRADE. IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO PAPER OVER CONCERN ABOUT CUBAN ACTIVITIES AT BELGRADE WHERE THERE WILL BE A MORE OPEN MILIEU AND TWICE AS MANY MEMBERS (OVER 80), INCLUDING A LARGER NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL MODERATES, ATTENDING. OF THE ANTI-CUBAN INITIATIVES EXPECTED AT BELGRADE, AN EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL TO ADJOURN THE HAVANA NAM SUMMIT (SEPTEMBER 1979) SINE DIE PROBABLY HAS THE WIDEST POTENTIAL APPEAL. THERE ARE ALSO SOMALI AND ZAIRIAN PROPOSALS TO EXPEL CUBA FROM THE NAM. AFRICAN STATES ARE BEING CANVASSED AT THE KHARTOUM OAU SUMMIT AND IN MEETINGS IN NEW YORK, AND INDICATIONS ARE THAT A FAIR NUMBER OF THE MODERATES ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT ONE OR BOTH OF THESE PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, AFRICAN SUPPORTERS OF CUBA, SUCH AS TANZANIA, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, AND OTHERS SUCH AS NIGERIA, CONFIDENTIAL

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WILL ACTIVELY OPPOSE THE PROPOSALS. THE CUBANS ARE SENDING HIGH-LEVEL MISSIONS TO KEY NON-ALIGNED CAPITALS IN ORDER TO LINE UP SUPPORT AT BELGRADE. THEY ARE ALLEGING THAT THE US AND CHINA ARE COLLABORATING IN AN EFFORT TO PUNISH CUBA THROUGH THE NAM, A LINE THEY MAY TROT OUT AGAIN IF THE CUBANS SENSE THEIR POSITION NEEDS SHORING UP. SHOULD THE EGYPTIANS AND OTHERS PROCEED WITH THEIR INITIATIVES, THEN, THE PROSPECTS ARE FOR A BITTER FIGHT, WITH UNPREDICTABLE OUTCOME, AT BELGRADE.

9. WE EXPECT THE INDIANS AND YUGOSLAVS TO CONTINUE THEIR INDIRECT APPROACH TO LIMITING CUBAN INFLUENCE IN THE NAM, AND TO COUNSEL THE EGYPTIANS AND OTHERS TO ABANDON DIRECT APPROACHES THEY REGARD AS DANGEROUS TO THE NAM AND FUTILE. THEY WILL WORK BEHIND-THE-SCENES TO ENSURE THAT NO MAJOR DEPARTURES ARE MADE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THE NAM AND WILL PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE AGENDA AND OTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE HAVANA NAM SUMMIT. THE WIDER THE INPUT INTO THESE PREPARATIONS, THE LESS OPPORTUNITY THE CUBANS WILL HAVE TO DO THINGS THEIR OWN WAY AT THE SUMMIT. THE QUESTION OF THE ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS AND OBSERVERS TO THE NAM WILL ALSO BE OF INTEREST AS IF AFFECTS THE IDEOLOGICAL COLORATION OF THE MOVEMENT. LATIN AMERICAN APPLICATIONS WILL BE OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO US. FYI. THIS ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT LATIN

AMERICAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE NAM SHOULD NOT HAVE A NEGATIVE
IMPACT ON THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. END FYI.

10. TALKING POINTS (FOR ALL POSTS):

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-- THE US POSITION TOWARD THE NAM AND THE THIRD
WORLD IS CLEAR. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS AWARE
THAT IN EARLIER YEARS THE US HELD VIEWS ON THE NAM
WHICH RANGED FROM HOSTILE TO APATHETIC. THIS IS NO
LONGER THE CASE. THE US RESPECTS AND APPROVES A
GENUINE AND OBJECTIVE NON-ALIGNMENT, BASED ON THE
PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL RESPECT, COOPERATION AND
DETACHMENT AND BALANCE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. A
NAM GUIDED BY THESE PRINCIPLES CAN MAKE A POSITIVE
CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND, THUS, BEST
SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED.

-- A SECOND IMPORTANT CHANGE IN OUR POLICY WHICH HAS
DIRECT RELEVANCE TO OUR DISCUSSIONS TODAY IS THE
PRESIDENT'S PROFOUND INTEREST IN HAVING HIS ADMINISTRATION
CONSULT WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT AND WITH OTHER LEADERS
OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD ON A WIDE RANGE OF MAJOR
INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. IN THESE DISCUSSIONS, WE WILL
PROVIDE INFORMATION AND OUR VIEWS ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE WORLD, AND WE WELCOME YOUR VIEWS.

-- GIVEN THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION THAT NON-ALIGNMENT
CAN MAKE TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WE ARE CONCERNED
OVER WHAT APPEARS TO BE A SILENCE BY THE NAM TOWARD
CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA, SUPPORTED BY AND CLOSELY
LINKED WITH SOVIET OBJECTIVES, WHICH COULD LEAD TO
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL MILITARY BASES AND
GARRISONS OF FOREIGN TROOPS ON THAT CONTINENT.

-- WE DO NOT WISH TO CONFUSE MILITARY INTERVENTION
WITH DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE. ALL NATIONS WITH
EXPERTISE TO CONTRIBUTE CAN ASSIST AFRICAN STATES
IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT. THE US IS NOT OPPOSED TO SUCH
ASSISTANCE, WHATEVER THE SOURCE. BUT A LARGE FOREIGN
MILITARY PRESENCE IN AFRICA IS A CAUSE FOR CONCERN
IN PARTICULAR WHEN IT APPEARS TO BE OF INDEFINITE DURATION
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AND IS UNDERTAKEN IN COORDINATION WITH A SUPERPOWER.

-- THIS INCONSISTENCY BY THE NON-ALIGNED ABOUT CUBAN
MILITARY ACTIVITIES COULD UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY
OF THE NON-ALIGNED CONCEPT AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF

THE NAM AS A FORCE FOR PEACE. SUCH INCONSISTENCY IS
REGULARLY NOTED BY THE US PUBLIC AND CONGRESS.

-- ALLEGATIONS THAT WE ARE WORKING WITH CHINA OR
ANY OTHER NATION TO TAKE THE NAM SUMMIT AWAY FROM
CUBA OR EXPEL CUBA FROM THE MOVEMENT HAVE NO BASIS
IN FACT. WE BELIEVE THESE ALLEGATIONS ARE AN ATTEMPT
BY CUBA TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM THE QUESTIONS BEING
RAISED BY OTHER NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ABOUT THE
CONSISTENCY OF CUBA'S MILITARY ACTIVITIES WITH ITS
NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS. CUBA'S ALLEGATIONS REPRESENT
AN ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT THESE COUNTRIES RATHER THAN
ANSWER THE QUESTIONS.

-- WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL
AFFAIRS OF THE NAM. BUT WE DO INTEND TO CONTINUE
TO MAKE KNOWN OUR VIEWS ON ISSUES WHICH WILL BE
CONSIDERED BY THE NAM WHICH AFFECT THE INTERESTS
OF MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS ALIKE.

-- WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR VIEWS ON HOW THE CUBAN ISSUE
WILL BE TREATED AT THE BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN
MINISTERS MEETING.

FOR ALGIERS, BAGHDAD, CONAKRY, DAMASCUS, DAR ES SALAAM,
GEORGETOWN, LUGOS, MAPUTO, TRIPOLI: ADD THE FOLLOWING
AT AN APPROPRIATE PLACE:

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-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT YOU MAY HAVE VIEWS ON THE CUBAN
ISSUE WHICH DO NOT ACCORD WITH OUR OWN. NONETHELESS,
WE BELIEVE A CANDID EXCHANGE OF VIEWS CAN HELP TO
IMPROVE UNDERSTANDING AND ELIMINATE MISCONCEPTIONS,
THUS (WHERE APPROPRIATE) CONTRIBUTING TO THE IMPROVEMENT
OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH IS IN THE INTERESTS
OF BOTH.

FOR KINGSTON: WHILE WE ASSUME BOTH FACT AND SUBSTANCE
OF OUR DEMARCHES WILL GET BACK TO THE CUBANS THROUGH
SEVERAL OF THE GOVERNMENTS TO BE APPROACHED, WE ARE
ESPECIALLY RELUCTANT TO GIVE JAMAICANS A COMPELLING
REASON TO DISCUSS BELGRADE MEETING WITH CUBANS AT
THIS TIME. HENCE, YOU SHOULD NOT MAKE SPECIFIC
DEMARCHE ON NAM MEETING. AS YOU DEEM APPROPRIATE,
HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON TALKING POINTS IN DISCUSSING
THE VARIOUS ISSUES ON AD HOC BASIS WITH MEMBERS OF THE
GOJ.

FOR ABIDJAN, ACCRA, BANJUL, DAKAR, KINSHASA, KHARTOUM,
LIBREVILLE, LOME, MONROVIA, NDJAMENA, NIAMEY,
OUAGADOUGOU, YAOUNDE: ADD THE FOLLOWING AT THE END:

-- IN PARTICULAR, WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY
PLANS TO BRING THE ISSUE INTO THE OPEN AT BELGRADE,
AND OF THE PROSPECTS OF THOSE PLANS.

FOR NAIROBI: ALTHOUGH THE GOK PERCEIVES SOME
ADVANTAGES IN THE CUBAN PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA AND WOULD,
THUS, NOT WISH TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE CUBANS, WE
BELIEVE ITS GENERALLY MODERATE AND PRO-US STANCE WILL
MAKE IT RECEPTIVE TO AN EXPOSITION OF US VIEWS ON THE
CUBAN QUESTION. IF YOU CONCUR, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE
ABOVE TALKING POINTS, MAKING ADJUSTMENTS YOU DEEM
APPROPRIATE.

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11. ALL REPORTING CONCERNING THE BELGRADE MEETING
SHOULD BE SENT INFO TO USUN AND BELGRADE.

CHRISTOPHER UNQUOE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS, NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE178240
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/ML: MJACOBS:LW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780291-0380
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197807106/baaazfo.tel
Line Count: 782
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e16f566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 15
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) STATE 29098 (NOTAL), B) STATE 97545 (NOTAL), C) STATE 163024 (NOTAL), D) USUN 1571 (NOTAL)
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1857125
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: JULY 25-29 NON-ALIGNED FON MINISTERS' MEETING AT BELGRADE: PART 1
TAGS: PORG
To: NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE INFO ANKARA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e16f566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014